

Leicester, Massachusetts, June 30, 1846.

My dear Sir,

Having written you by the 1<sup>st</sup> of June ship, I should hardly feel justified in so soon sending you another letter, had I not to acknowledge the reception of a letter from you, and of the parcel containing your "Brief Notice", &c. &c. &c.

These came to hand - the letter, June 19<sup>th</sup>, the parcel some 4 or 5 days afterward; and I thank you for all most heartily. I immediately forwarded those copies of your pamphlet, which you had addressed, to their destination. The packet for Dr. Gibson of Phil<sup>a</sup>. I sent to my father, who, I doubt not, has found an opportunity of sending it before this. The half-dozen you kindly sent to me, for such disposition as I was pleased to make, I have sent to Rev. J. Pierpont, Rev. W. H. Furness of Phil<sup>a</sup>, Mr. S. H. Gay Ed. of "Standard", & to my Father, one each, which leaves me 2 copies, which I shall bestow only where I think they will be appreciated.

In the tract itself, I have, of course, read it all and carefully; and I not only like it, but do admire it for its simplicity, directness, fairness, and remarkable correctness; - remarkable, I say, for it is very rare for a writer of one Europe country, to be able to enter so fully into the feelings, customs, etc. of another, as to avoid making some mistakes, which are apt to be ludicrous. Your tract is ~~not~~ manifestly the result of much patient study, comparison of different testimony, &c.; and your conclusions are certainly most judicious and fair. I trust it will have a large circulation, an extensive notice, and do much good among you. As I read along, I made an occasional note, for remark when I should write to you, e.g. In the enumeration of States <sup>p. 3, 4</sup> you have omitted Florida (a Slave State) which was admitted a State at the same time with Iowa. Iowa, however, for some reason, which I do not distinctly recollect, has never accepted the Act of Congress, and is not a State as yet. Therefore, as matters now stand, we have 15 Slave States to 13 Free; but with Iowa in (as she doubtless soon will be) the balance will, <sup>still</sup> be destroyed [15 to 14], and while the Union lasts, probably will not be again restored; nor is it of any material consequence, for our Northern Senators & Representatives often pursue a more truckling pro-slavery course than the Southerners themselves.

On p. 10, a slight misapprehension might arise from one sentence, where you state that a man owning 5 Slaves, has 4 votes, &c. No Slaveholder actually more than a single vote; you afterwards however state the



fact precisely as it is, where you say <sup>same page</sup> "a man owning 1000 slaves, &c. is equal in political influence to 601 of, &c. &c." Again - same page - it is not 30,000 voters that the

Constn. requires to elect a representative, but one is allowed for not fewer than that number of inhabitants, male & female, old & young; and this, by subsequent laws of Congress, has been changed from time to time, so that the present apportionment is one Representative to every 47,000 inhabitants. - The statement, "three-fourths" in place of "three fifths", you yourself noticed, in your letter to me. - Page 29, Mr. Hoar was sent to Charleston, not to test the laws of that State, but to try, in the United States Court, of that District, the Constitutionality of those laws of the State of So. Carolina, under which Massachusetts Citizens were imprisoned. - I have thought it right, my dear Sir, simply to point these out to you, though, as inaccurate, they are of ~~no~~ <sup>or no</sup> little consequence, so far as the hearing & objects of ~~your~~ tract are concerned. They are sufficiently near the truth to make it certain that no incorrect or unwarrantable deductions, as to general truths, ~~facts~~ & principles, will be drawn from them.

I was very much pleased with the section on the "Origin & Intellect of the Negro", and with the two immediately following, on the "Abolition Movement" and the "Purpose, &c. of the Abolitionists", for which I feel that we have especial cause to thank you.

If there is, in the whole pamphlet, one sentiment in which I do not concur, it is not more than a single one, and is that on p. 25. where you say "if the minds of the clergy are not more enlightened & their consciences more awakened" &c. &c. Now I think we are justified in dealing pretty severely with men, who set themselves up as teachers of morals & religion, who have not enlightened minds & living consciences, and to say to them pointedly, you have mistaken your vocation, be your talent & eloquence what they may, and you are dishonoring the cause of religion, and deceiving the people. Such men ought to be exposed as "blind guides", as no guides. And I believe (may I have not a doubt) that thousands of ministers have yielded to temporal authority, to love of popularity, &c. &c., to fear of reproof and ridicule, and have become dumb when they knew they ought to speak. The evidence is the clearest and strongest the nature of the case admits of. - But I have not time to

write more fully about your tract, as I must soon finish & despatch this, and have many other topics to touch upon. I certainly hope you will send a number <sup>more</sup> of your tracts to the Antislavery Fair, if not before. I think I shall send one of my remaining 2 spare copies to Dr. Garret; and if you should at any time send me more I will send to Dr. Dacey & Mrs. At to sending to Dr. Parkman, he is hopeless - I would as <sup>soon</sup> send to a post. The name Parkman



reminds me to say that Rev. John Parkman (of Dover, N. Hampshire), a nephew  
of the Rev. Dr., and unlike his uncle as well could be, has recently sailed with  
his family for the South of Europe, expecting to be absent from home 2 years.  
He will probably be in England next year, and hopes to become acquainted with  
more of our Unitarian friends than he now knows - (he has once before visited  
Europe.) He is an excellent man - has been for a long time a steadfast and  
active Abolitionist, when in Massachusetts, was a V. Pres<sup>t</sup>. of the Mass. Anti-Slavery  
Society, and <sup>an</sup> anti-slavery minister of the right stamp. I hope you may meet  
with him. — You may be ~~interested~~ interested to know the religious sentiments of some  
of our politicians. John P. Hale of New Hampshire, formerly a Rep. in Congress  
of the Democratic party, and who made a bold stand against the Texas iniquity, <sup>then</sup> ~~was~~  
back to N. Hampshire, and after a most severely contested political struggle has  
been recently elected a Senator in Congress from N. Hampshire for 6 years, is a  
Unitarian, and a member of my brother Parkman's Society - the same named  
above. On the other hand, Charles G. Atherton, the other New Hampshire  
Senator, and the vilest tool, and most fawning worshipper, of the Slave power,  
is a member of the Unitarian Society in Nashua, N. H., of which Rev. S. G. Bulfinch  
is now Pastor. (Mr. Bulfinch married a Slaveholding wife in Georgia, where he  
was settled several years. She is, I believe, not now living.) John Fairfield,  
too, Senator from Maine in Congress, an ultra Democrat, and who lately  
voted against ratifying the Treaty with Gr. Britain, making the 49<sup>th</sup> parallel the  
boundary line, is a Unitarian, and I have been told quite a zealous one,  
when at home, acting in Sunday School, &c. Atherton, <sup>of N. H.</sup> ~~also~~ known as Gay  
Atherton, from his <sup>bitter</sup> ~~course~~ opposition to the reception of Anti-Slavery Petitions  
by Congress, is only a nominal Unitarian, I suspect. The two Massachusetts  
Senators, Daniel Webster and John Davis, are both members of Unitarian  
Societies. The latter is a resident of Worcester, and married a daughter of the  
late Rev. Dr. Bancroft, whose name as an early, fearless, & prominent  
Unitarian in this country cannot be new to you. "Something too much of this",  
you will doubtless say.

On the very day that I received your last letter, I also received <sup>one</sup> from Mr.  
Gay, Editor of the "Natl. A. S. Standard", in which he says, "The name of your  
friend Dr. Estlin I have put upon our free list." You will accordingly  
receive the "Standard" without charge, and I hope you may find it useful.  
Great efforts have been making to increase its circle of readers, and to give new



value & interest to the paper. Mr. Gay says to me, "English papers I am always very glad to get. You would do me a favour if you would hint this to your correspondents abroad." He adds, "The Standard is sent to several papers those which I never get in return - the 'Inquirer' among them - a paper which I want to see. I receive the 'League' and the London 'Anti-Slavery Reporter'."

I wrote to Mr. Gay how illly supported the "Inquirer" was, and said I supposed Mr. Hinks was not well able to send out many papers gratuitously. I proposed a way to Mr. G., by which he might see (perhaps) the n<sup>o</sup>. of the "Inquirer" sent, in exchange, to the "Christian World" or "C. Register". - I have been requested to become, with others, an regular occasional contributor to the "Standard"; in reply, I said to the Ed. that I was frequently receiving letters, from Eng<sup>d</sup> & Ireland, from which valuable extracts might be made, and I spoke of yourself, of my correspondence with you, and of the pamphlet you were about issuing. That led him to say what he did about sending the "Standard" to you. He said he should be very glad of <sup>such</sup> extracts, and, in the paper of June 25<sup>th</sup>, you will see he has inserted two such; the first from a letter of James Haughton's to me, the other from your own letter.

With regard to yours, I fear I may not have done quite as you would have had me, in sending to the paper your expression, "our inactive B. & F. Society"; but as no name appears, I hope no harm will ensue. I shall strive to be <sup>very</sup> careful, in this matter of publishing extracts. You will see that Mr. Haughton speaks highly of your pamphlet. I did not quote the entire of what he said; and will here ~~happily~~ give the whole. Speaking of Mr. James's recent visit to London ("whose acquaintance, he says, he was happy to make", regarding him as "an excellent man") he adds, "There appears to be some excellent anti-slavery feeling in Bristol. A capital pamphlet ~~has~~ on the subject has just appeared there by Mr. Estlin, a Unitarian. It contains, in a small space, a good review of Slavery in America & of the doings of Abolitionists. I only got it yesterday, and have not yet read it all. It is a little too soft, for my taste, on slaveholders and pro-slavery men, but it is a work which ~~must~~ must do good, and I expect it will be read extensively."

Mr. Garrison is to sail for England in 16<sup>th</sup> July Steamship. I shall, perhaps, send you some papers, &c. by him. I hope you will see him. A subscription is now open to procure the sum necessary to meet his expenses.

I am glad to see, by the papers, especially by a late letter of F. Douglass's in the Liberator, that Messrs. Sturge, Scoble, &c. are feeling better and more kindly towards the old Abolitionists. They are the only ones here



I am well convinced, who will ever do the Antislavery work. 3

Elihu Burritt, our "learned blacksmith," is in England before this. The subject of Peace now chiefly attracts his attention. He has been a pretty warm Abolitionist of the Liberty party, but seems to have cooled off. He wrote very sarcastically against the "Dissolution of the Union" scheme, and penned a very bombastic glorification of the Constitution. I think his views have undergone at least a modification. Another American, Henry Clapp Jr. of Lynn, has lately gone to England - what for, I cannot divine. He is not a man to be trusted, as I think you will see in his face, should you fall <sup>in</sup> with him. I hope he will not deceive the Antislavery elect. He was, a short time since, the bitterest denouncer of the clergy & of <sup>the</sup> Churches among us, not excepting Stephen S. Foster, or Parker Pillsbury. A few months since, he suddenly recanted, and now highly eulogises ~~those~~ whom latterly he vilified. You will see what Mr. Garrison says of him; I have no doubt that it is mainly correct. I am glad Garrison will be in Eng. just at this time.

You will see the melancholy & foolish course of Cassius M. Clay. Led by notions of patriotism, and also perhaps by a love of military distinction, he has given up the "True American" into other hands, accepted the command of a volunteer company of Cavalry, and gone into the Mexican War; - a war, which he has denounced most emphatically, as a war of invasion, a war to extend Slavery, and which he still considers & denounces as such!! Yet, because the country is at war, he must go and fight for her, "right or wrong." Alas! alas! Garrison was so indignant as to wish he might be the first to fall on the battle-field. I thought this too bad, and wrote to Mr G., asking him to explain; and he has done so in the "Liberator" of the 26<sup>th</sup> inst., as you will see. A Louisville (or Lexington) gentleman writes that Mr. Clay will never take charge of the "True American" again, should he live to return. He seems to have diminished naught of his opposition to Slavery; he may have an idea that his course will set

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a strong current of Southern feeling in his favour. He has however forfeited, to a great degree, the confidence of Abolitionists in his sound judgment, and in his trustworthiness as a co-operator with them. I do not mean as to his honesty, when tried by his own standard, but as to his fitness for the work. What the upshot of it all will be, time must show.

Our war with Mexico is still waged, but with less activity. We have rumors that England has offered to mediate, — these again are contradicted, and it is said England is too large a creditor of Mexico, to allow of her being dismembered of any of her provinces, specially of those of New Mexico, where are some of the richest mines.

I must say I am surprised at the extract you give me from the letter of Mr. James Martineau. He says, "I have found it a disadvantage to know nothing of the ~~Anti-Slavery~~ parties in America, who originated this scheme [the Annual Fair]; the disgraceful divisions among the Abolitionists". How can he call the divisions "disgraceful", if he "knows nothing" concerning the question on which, and the parties between which, these divisions have existed. Suppose some American, or other, ignoramus were to talk of the "disgraceful divisions" in Ireland between the Unitarians and Unitarian Presbyterians, or between different portions of the Dissenters in England. Perhaps, if Mr. Martineau would think it worth the while to inform himself, he might discover as good reasons for these "divisions" as ever exist, for any divisions. And I am, myself, convinced you cannot keep these things out of sight in England more than here. The conduct of the Free Church in Scotland has already opened the door to the most, or all, of them. A rank pro-slavery, once understood to exist in any portion of the Church with you, will lead to comparisons, and discussions, which will must tend to give you a practical



insight into the same controversy which has waged with us. 4

I ought to have spoken of your list of ladies' names at the close of your tract— evidence of indefatigable labour on your part, and promise of an increase of Antislavery sympathy and labour in England, which cannot fail to tell powerfully for us.

I see my letter in the "Inquirer" of May 23. I am very glad that you think it desirable & important. I wish it had been better, more condensed, and more full & weighty.

I wished to say some words about H. C. Wright, about <sup>& thanksgiving</sup> prayers in Churches for victories, such as that over the Sikhs, but want of time compels me to close. Again I must send a letter without being able to read it over to supply deficiencies, &c.

My respects to your daughter, and to all my Bristol friends, and to yourself, my dear Sir.

I am, Most truly Yours,  
Samuel May.

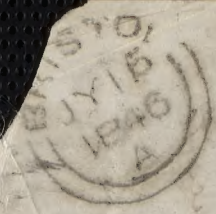
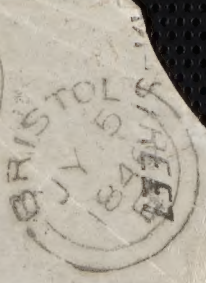
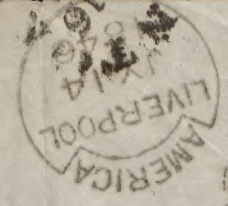
By a paper of this day, I see Ad. Dr. Beecher, now of Cincinnati, is going to ~~London~~ England immediately. He has been a prominent Presbyterian Clergyman, first in Connecticut, afterwards in Boston, still later in Ohio, and on Slavery has pursued, so far as I can recollect, a ~~weak~~ weak, non-committal sort of course.

The Antislavery Fair in Boston, under charge of "Mrs. Ball", was a Liberty party affair. It struggled desperately for existence 2 or 3 years, and last winter was completely "swamped".



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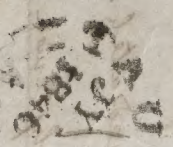
Per Steamship,  
July 1<sup>st</sup>

J. B. Estlin Esq.

~~Post Office~~

~~Devon~~ Lynton

[England.] Devon



M: May

June 30. 1846